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ABSTRACT

Discrimination against women, though more covert than discrimination against blacks, has caused inestimable damage in self-esteem, wasted potential and supressed rage. Academic bias against wcmen has been recently documented at several universities, and though the federal government through executive orders has specifically forbidden sex discrimination by federal contractors, most universities have taken no steps to formulate or implement affirmative action programs that would assure equal opportunity and prevent sex discrimination. This article examines the major job categories at the State University of New York at Buffalo and identifies the "problem areas" by faculties, departments, administration, staff, and student body. It discusses various discriminatory practices such as the nepotism rule, the "no-inbred-hiring policies," and tenure, and presents data on the numbers and percentages of women and men faculty, tenured faculty, graduate students, and subsidized graduate students in each department. The article concludes with a "plan for affirmative action to end discrimination against women." (AF)

VIEWPOINTS

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THE HALF-EATEN APPLE:

By ANN SCOTT

Chairman, National Campus Coordinating Committee of the National Organization for Women (NOW) and Assistant Professor, English

A LOOK AT SEX DISCRIMINATION IN THE UNIVERSITY

For the first time in my life I think I can begin to understand what it must feel like to be a woman. . . . To have to wangle favors from more powerful people, like nurses. To be dependent on brisk, competent, though inferior, attendants. To be hemmed in, robbed of autonomy, because if you displease people they can just physically overpower you and put you back in your place. This experience has changed my whole personality. . . . I was never condescended to, patronized, before. I have to resist the attitude of the nurses or I become like a child. I become devious. I have to outwit them by strategy, since I don't have either physical strength or hospital rules on my side. The whole situation has affected even my relations with the two other men in the room. We feel and act like conspirators. Even our logic was affected. The nurses behaved according to the logic of hospital rules, which seemed to us to be all in their favor. If a few weeks of being without superior strength and the support of the rules can do this to a man, what can years of it do to a woman?

(Interview with a male patient recuperating in a hospital, quoted from Jessie Bernard, *Academic Women*, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1967, 168-69.

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Statistics gathered by *Mary Lee Geisser*.
Analysed by *Jane Faulman*.
Graph design consultant, *Tom Scott*.

Although Eve's bite into that apple made her the world's first seeker after higher learning, her fate was to be punished for her presumption, rather than praised for her initiative.[1] Like Pandora's and Athena's, two other female purveyors of experience and wisdom to mankind, Eve's creation is assigned to the male. In a startling reverse of natural process, Eve is born out of Adam's body as "flesh of his flesh" to bring death into the world; Pandora ("All-Giving") is created out of clay by Zeus to be a helpmeet to man and to afflict him with the painful gifts of reality; Athena, that formidable masculinized virgin, springs fully armed from Zeus' head, after causing him the first recorded instance of the physical penalty for thought—a headache. Myth, therefore, attributes the creation of the life of the mind to the male, its costs to the female.

Since Eve, women's academic progress has been largely downhill. From its invention in Athens until the 19th century, higher education has remained a man's world from which women were resolutely barred, and the change came about only because women themselves insisted on their right to learn. Yet even as late as 1907, the German scientific encyclopedist P. Moebius could state that "extraordinarily important parts of the brain necessary for spiritual life, the frontal convolutions and the temporal lobes, are less well developed in women, and this difference is inborn . . . That the sciences, in the strictest sense, have received no enrichment from women and never shall is therefore understandable."[2] But Moebius' view that female biology and learning are by nature incompatible was not considered the work of a crank; his ideas were echoed solemnly by a generation of men determined not to give women the vote.

We are now, of course, in 1970, not 1907. It is no longer thought that education will injure the female's delicate child-bearing apparatus, nor that forcing our smaller brains in puberty will use up the blood needed for men-

struation, leading to anemia and morbidity. Yet the sad fact is that in 1970 women are still not afforded equal status with men in the world of the university, neither in academic employment nor in educational opportunity. This state of affairs does not necessarily argue some despicable plot on the part of academic men to deprive their women colleagues of equal status or their women students of equal education; rather, it attests to the low esteem in which our culture holds women — an attitude arising from the immemorial set of our society toward the traditional roles of the sexes.

Women as a Minority:

Covert versus Overt Discrimination

Although women comprise 51 per cent of the population and 53 per cent of the vote, in actuality we exhibit all the cultural stigmata of a minority—we are invisible as independent beings in politics (there are five times as many whooping cranes in America as women in Congress), non-existent in the troposphere of the business world (only .07 per cent of the $10,000-plus U. S. salaries go to women), used by the mass media as sexual marketing devices or condescended to as little housekeeper/nursemaids. The assumption that our biology fits us for nothing but home and family has not, until very recently, been seriously questioned by our generation, and has actually led to a frightening decline in our already depressed state in both employment and education.[3]

The "uniquity" of anti-feminism: The parallel between the status of women and blacks has been pointed out a number of times, from John Stuart Mill through Gunnar Myrdal to Caroline Byrd, who summarizes succinctly:[4]

> Generalizations about Negroes and women relegated both groups to inferior status on the job. Both groups were regarded as a labor reserve, denied equal hiring, training, pay, promotion, respon-

sibility, and seniority at work. Neither group was supposed to boss white men, and both were limited to jobs white men didn't want. . . . Both women and Negroes were held to be inferior in intelligence, incapable of genius, emotional, childlike, irresponsible, and sexually threatening. . . . Both were viewed as treacherous, wily, "intuitive," voluble, and proud of outwitting their menfolk or whitefolk.

The discrimination against women, however, reveals in my experience special features which make it particularly difficult to combat. Anti-feminism is a cultural iceberg: for every one-tenth which is overt, or showing, the other nine-tenths are covert—submerged in a largely unquestioned tradition of women as inferiors. This covert discrimination reveals itself most strikingly in such places as statistics on employment and education, arthritic laws, stereotypes of folklore (shrewish wife or dumb blonde jokes), or a propensity to treat the genuine anger of women as a source of cheap humor about lesbians or sexual starvation.

Although covert discrimination is less dramatic than overt, its cost to women in damaged self-esteem, wasted potential, and suppressed rage is too high ever to be assessed. This discrimination is our culture's oldest, most subtle, most widespread, and, thereby in the long run, most widely destructive antagonism; it cuts directly across all political, social, and economic boundaries—perhaps for the reason that women themselves do the same. Short of fleeing to Mount Athos, a man can no more avoid deeply involving his life in some way with women than he can avoid participating in the attitudes of his culture And women, of course, are the ever more unfortunate victims of an historical conditioning designed to convince them from cradle to bed to grave that they cannot succeed in a man's world, nor should they even want to.

Cultural inertia being what it is, covert attitudes are especially liable to perpetuating themselves unless vigorously challenged. Finally, after a tacit moratorium of fifty years, women have begun to contest their second class status, and will continue to do so until, hopefully, their goals of legal, economic, political and social equality are won, and until both men and women can meet equally on the grounds of their shared humanity.

Academic Bias Against Women:

Perpetuation Through Apathy

A sad fact is that while universities have made genuine efforts on behalf of the other minority groups, they are no freer of the traditional attitudes toward women than any other group in our society. We are barely present in the faculties of coeducational institutions, and even in women's colleges are concentrated in the lower levels.[5]

That this discrimination is largely covert and reflects general social patterns does not, however, exonerate the university from allowing it to exist. On the contrary, today's university should be the last place to tolerate discrimination of any sort, either overt or by the perpetuation of destructive social attitudes through sheer apathy. In fact, the university's educational responsibility requires it to be particularly sensitive to such attitudes. In its capacity as a test lab for ideas, the university must maintain a ceaseless program of self-evaluation, for, if it does not, it risks depriving its students of choice by passing on such attitudes unquestioned.

The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy Routine:

Why Women Iron While the Strike Is Hot

In any form, discrimination continuously recreates its own justifica-

tion. Women are told in all good faith by men who would be insulted at being called anti-feminist ("But I *love* women!") that "women aren't a good investment. No matter how bright they are, they all drop out and get married, have babies, or follow their husbands if they're transferred." These charges, brought up in innumerable *ad feminam* arguments, are, of course, sometimes true. More women than men do drop out of faculty and of graduate programs, leading to lowered expectation of women's success, leading to more women dropping out —as they are expected to. Rank reveals an inverse spiral: the higher the academic stratum, the lower the overall percentage of women, until at the summit women simply evaporate. Since women have a visibly lower chance of success than men, fewer women are inspired to try, lowering in turn the numbers of women available.

This creates a lack in the academic world of what sociologists refer to as "visible life models," or "role models." Women in the university do not see enough successful women, or even women treated as equals by their male colleagues, for women are the "invisible men" of today's colleges—inseparate, but unequal. The role models offered to women students, not just by those convenient villains the mass media but also by much of their course content from nursery school through graduate school, are almost totally of the traditional homemaker and mother, while the converse image of the successful career woman (the type Joan Crawford played in countless films) nearly invariably presents her as frustrated, miserable, bitchy, sexually starved, masculine and castrating. Even the social sciences have tended to look at career women as deviant or abnormal or in the throes of "role conflict."

Cynthia Epstein discusses the possible repercussions of the paucity of women role models in the university[6]:

> The lack of motivational models for the girl . . . has become a matter of concern to educators, some of whom have begun to translate the need into proposals for action. One has stated: "If the predictions are accurate that women are and will be needed to fill society's needs for highly qualified talent, it may be the university will have to give more thought to *providing models for the undergraduate women by employing more women faculty members in present positions to demonstrate that such fields are open to qualified women.*"

But the reasons go much deeper than the rewards or the visible chance for success. Like other minority groups, women internalize the cultural attitudes that tell them this is someone else's world. Academic women show up with significantly higher IQs at rank than their male colleagues, and yet their "production" (publications, research, grants, etc.) is lower in both rate and significance.[7] "IQ doesn't mean a damn thing," says a man. "It's only what you produce!" Granted. But what strikes me here is the limited definition of production, the evidence of wasted potential in women, the need to examine its causes, assess its costs, and, above all, the need to do something about it.

Recently, women themselves have begun to look at how the self-fulfilling prophecy treadmill works against their sex. The poison in the system, of course, can be identified as the cultural attitudes both men and women have swallowed and digested like DDT without even knowing it.

A recent study by Matina Horner shows that not only are women conditioned not to compete, but, more important, not to succeed.[8] Her work indicates, in fact, a distinct correlation: the more a woman *wants* to succeed, the more likely she is to fail through anxiety that success can be bought only at the price of social ostracism and loss of femininity—of becoming that social monster, the aggressive woman. And the greater the chance of success, the greater the penalties. Therefore, given equal or even lesser abilities, a man has a better chance at success because he

knows that society will reward him, whereas a woman feels it will punish her.

Inevitably women internalize these pressures, with an equally inevitable effect on "production." The farther and higher a woman moves in a man's world, the greater the pressures against success. In a man's world like the university, a woman must make an extra effort merely to survive, let alone succeed; at the same time she must fight her own internal directives in order to demand higher salaries, or promotions or appointments, to submit material for publication, to put herself in the position of being judged at all.

I say all this with some trepidation: these observations can be construed too easily as typical female complaining or apologizing, or even, I suppose, as a subversion of my own purposes —a good argument to keep women right where they are at the bottom of the academic world. But it must be said, for any number of imperative reasons: as academics, we *must* examine the nature and mechanism of the pressures that discourage women from academic success. If we are ever to afford women the equal employment prescribed by law and the equal opportunity prescribed by the nature of tax-supported education, we must eliminate these pressures. The university must take the lead in breaking this self-fulfilling cycle, or it cannot justify its own existence. We must not allow either complacency, or refusal to recognize the problems, to force the needs of so many down on the list of priorities.

Women, The University, and The Ecological Crisis:

At the risk of seeming to climb onto the current bandwagon, I should like to discuss women's role in any long range solution to the ecological crisis.

Experts agree that at the heart of that crisis is the growing danger of overpopulation. For centuries, every culture in the world has been encouraging women to stay home and multiply, while at the same time systematically discouraging women from seeking any other means of achievement. Now, however, we learn that uncontrolled childbearing is no longer desirable, and may even threaten the survival of ourselves, our children, our unborn children. At the same time, fortunately, the technical means of effective birth control are either available or on the horizon.

Reversing the population growth rate, however, implies a revolution much more radical than the substitution of one political system for another. We are talking, instead, about a profound change in our most basic social attitudes toward the role of women and childbearing. (Political systems have come and gone throughout history, without ever effecting any real change in these attitudes.) But as long as society continues to discourage women from assuming any roles other than those directly connected with their reproductive lives (being pretty, deferential, sexy, nice, a good homemaker, cook, mother) and until it can offer women alternate and genuine ways of achieving cultural esteem, there will be no compelling incentive for women to limit their childbearing significantly enough to make the difference that will ensure survival.

The responsibility of the university to assume a leading role in this should be clear. Women will never become procreationally underemployed until they can become otherwise and elsewhere creatively employed—until they are assured an equal share not just in the responsibilities of working and learning in our world, but also in the rewards working and learning can lead to. When the university can say, and thereby teach society to say, to wo-

men, "You are valuable human beings who are women," instead of "You are valuable as women, who may be human beings," then enough women may be encouraged to quit work in the maternity ward and the nursery to guarantee the child of the future a whole acre of ground to stand on, instead of just six feet to be buried in.

The Women's Movement In the Universities:

In 1964, Betty Friedan published *The Feminine Mystique*, a book that has changed America. Ever since, women have been organizing to demand change and equality. Academic women are no exception.

In the last year both faculty and student women from California to New York have begun to call their universities to account. The academic professional associations in sociology, modern languages, psychology and academic sciences were all the targets, at their annual meetings, of demands by women members enraged at being invisible men to their male colleagues.

Campus groups, as well as professional groups, have started making demands on their universities. The Columbia Women's Liberation and a women's faculty group at Maryland have both issued well-researched reports on the status and scarcity of their female faculty. Cornell has several women's groups from WITCH to NOW, who have successfully demanded a program of Women's Studies and several reforms.

Two weeks ago in New York, a Professional Women's Caucus was organized, tentatively entitled Professionals Organized for Women's Equal Rights (POWER), of which one of the functions will be to investigate and report on discrimination against women in the Professions, including in the universities.

SUNY/B has a Women's Liberation Group and a University Committee of NOW (National Organization for Women), both of which are well aware of the University's failure to do anything about the status of women on campus. To attest to their interest, women themselves have organized courses, including an extensive accredited Bulletin Board Course and a program of Women's Studies under the American Studies Program. The Women's Liberation Group has started on its own responsibility a much needed free child care center staffed by volunteers.

WEAL, OFCC, and Executive Orders 11246 and 11375:

A very recent development, which came to my attention after this article was nearly completed, proves that at last women in the academic world are not without compelling powers of recourse. I quote from the remarks of Congresswoman Martha Griffiths (D. Mich.) on the floor of Congress on March 9, 1970, as reported in the *Congressional Record*:

Mr. Speaker, it is a national calamity that agencies of the Federal Government are violating our national policy, as well as the President's Executive Orders, by providing billions of dollars of Federal contracts to universities and colleges which discriminate against women both as teachers and as students.

The President's Executive Order 11246, as amended by Executive Order 11375, specifically forbids sex discrimination by Federal contractors. These orders are administered by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance of the Department of Labor. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has been designated as the compliance agency to obtain compliance with the Executive orders by colleges and universities with Federal contracts. However, billions of dollars in Federal contracts continue to go every year to colleges and universities which perpetuate vicious patterns of discrimination against women, despite the Executive Orders to the contrary.

Under the Labor Department's own guidelines, Federal contractors with 50 or more employees and a contract of $50,000 or more, must develop a written plan of affirmative action to prevent discrimination based on race, creed, color, sex, or national origin. I know of no university or college that has done so. . . . Under the same guidelines, all Federal contractors, including universities, are required to make an analysis of problems and an evaluation of opportunities for the use of minority employees, as well as specific goals and timetables for correcting existing discrimination.

Later in her speech, Mrs. Griffiths read into the Record a letter from Bernice Sandler of the Women's Equity Action League (WEAL) to Secretary of Labor George P. Shultz, dated January 31, 1970, demanding the enforcement of Executive Orders 11246 and 11375, and that the OFCC institute "an immediate '*class action*' and *compliance review* for all universities and colleges receiving Federal contracts. We ask that as stated in the Executive Orders, universities end discrimination and take affirmative action 'to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to . . . sex.'"

Dr. Sandler's letter, accompanied by impressive documentation, signaled out the following five areas of discrimination:

1. Admission quotas to undergraduate and graduate schools; 2. Discrimination in financial help for graduate study (scholarships, fellowships, research grants, teaching assistantships, etc.); 3. Hiring practices; 4. Promotions; 5. Salary differentials.

In its complaint, WEAL argued that women students are entitled to protection from sex discrimination under the apprenticeship provisions of the OFCC guidelines.

Since Congresswoman Griffith's speech, the National Organization for Women (NOW) has agreed at its annual convention to cooperate with WEAL in encouraging the filing of complaints from specific universities. The OFCC chose to review as its first complaint one filed by the Harvard Chapter of NOW. The compliance review is under way, and the OFCC is withholding $3 million in contracts until either Harvard can prove it does not discriminate against women, or until it enunciates an anti-discriminatory policy and files, as required by law of any Federal contractor, an acceptable "affirmative action program" to end discrimination against women.

Because Harvard at first refused to make its records concerning women available to the Federal government, one suspects that the policy/plan will have to be its course. Yet, to date, Harvard has stated neither policy nor plan, nor, in fact, has any other university, including SUNY.

According to the Federal Register (Vol. 35, No. 25, Thurs. Feb. 5, 1970), an affirmative action program is "a set of specific and result-oriented procedures to which a contractor commits himself to apply every good faith effort. The objective of those procedures plus such efforts is equal employment opportunity . . . An acceptable affirmative action program must include an analysis of areas within which the contractor is deficient in the utilization of minority groups and, further, goals and timetables to which the contractor's good faith efforts must be directed to correct the deficiencies and, thus, to increase materially the utilization of minorities at all levels and in all segments of his work force where deficiencies exist" (Subpart B, 60-2.10).

Further, affirmative action plans must contain the following information:

1. (60-2.11) An analysis of all major job categories at the facility with explanations if minorities are currently being underutilized in any one or more job categories (job "category" herein meaning one or a group of jobs having similar content, wage rates, and opportunities). "Underutilization" is defined as having fewer minorities in a particular job category than would reasonably be expected by their availability.

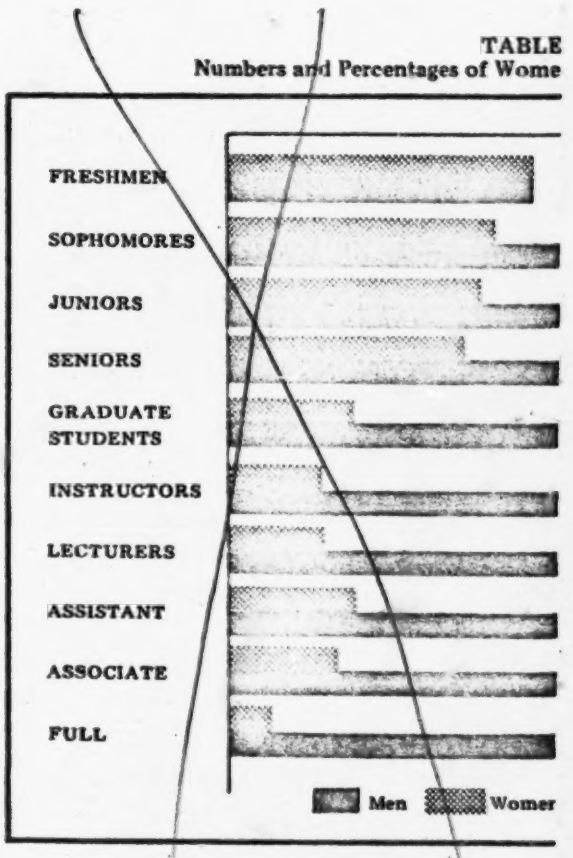
2. (60-2.12) Development or reaffirmation of the contractor's equal employment opportunity policy in all personnel actions. Formal internal and external dissemination of the contractor's policy. Identification of problem areas (deficiencies) by organizational units and job categories.

What all this means is that the State University of New York, as a Federal contractor, must comply with the law by filing an affirmative action program, as well as by developing a stated policy to be "disseminated formally both internally and externally" in regard to discrimination against women. It has not done this, nor, indeed, has it done, to my knowledge, the preliminary required groundwork of analyzing "major job categories" in respect to "underutilization" of women.

This article will lay the crude groundwork for that much-needed analysis by examining the "major job categories," and by "identifying the problem areas" (deficiencies of women) by "organizational units" (faculties, departments, administration, staff) and "job categories" (faculty rank, tenure, and graduate and undergraduate students considered as apprentices).

Preparation

Method: Because we wanted data more accurate and complete than that offered by the Faculty Directory, a questionnaire was sent to every department in every faculty, asking for the numbers of full-time men and women according to rank (from full professor to instructor) and to tenure, and the numbers of men and women full-time graduate students currently enrolled, and currently subsidized. A final section requested tenured and non-tenured faculty by sex and length of service. We had an extraordinarily high cooperation on returns: all departments but medicine sent the faculty figures; all departments sent in graduate student figures but art, theatre, linguistics and medicine; all departments, figures on tenure except dentistry. From this information we prepared the tables on pages 5, 6 and 7.



Committee lists are piecemeal — taken from newspaper stories and lists. The information on the administration comes from the Faculty Directory. Student figures were supplied by the Office of Admissions and Records.

Difficulties: Compiling the material for this article was difficult enough to show that further research will have to be officially initiated. Some existing data were not made available, such as a percentage breakdown of salary scales by sex according to rank and faculty, because of: 1) the cost of a computer run or a clerk to compile the figures, and 2) because the small number of women on the faculties might make individual salaries public. (This difficulty, however, can be avoided by having someone look up the few women's salaries involved and compute them on a percentage rather than a dollar basis in comparison with the salary scales already available on the faculty as a whole.)

In other cases, the information simply doesn't exist, apparently because it has never been thought worth recording. We were told, for example, that the University keeps no records by which to compare in numbers or amounts the ratios of men to women receiving undergraduate scholarship or loan assistance. Nor, I was told, are the records of graduate degrees awarded by this University analyzed by sex. And we have virtually no information on the staff by rank, salary, title, or sex, other than what the Faculty Directory can suggest.

This, therefore, is not a definitive analysis on the status of women on the campus. In the first place, I am not a sociologist experienced in compiling and interpreting data. Second, I am a woman, with an admitted, and often heated, bias against anti-feminist attitudes. Even this preliminary and cursory look, however, should point out the need not only for full scale research, but for some careful and sobering meditation on the part of the University about what it offers the women it hires and teaches.

Analysis

Rudimentary as this study is, certain features will be familiar, for the status of women on the campus is merely a carbon copy of the general employment patterns of women in the United States. In the language of the OFCC, women in the University are "underutilized," or less "adequately represented" in certain job categories than would be "expected by their availability." The OFCC defines "availability" by a number of factors, including: 1) the minority population of the labor area, 2) the general availability of skilled minorities, 3) availability of promotable minority employees. This directs our attention particularly to Table 1, which shows that while women comprise 50 percent of the freshmen, they repre-

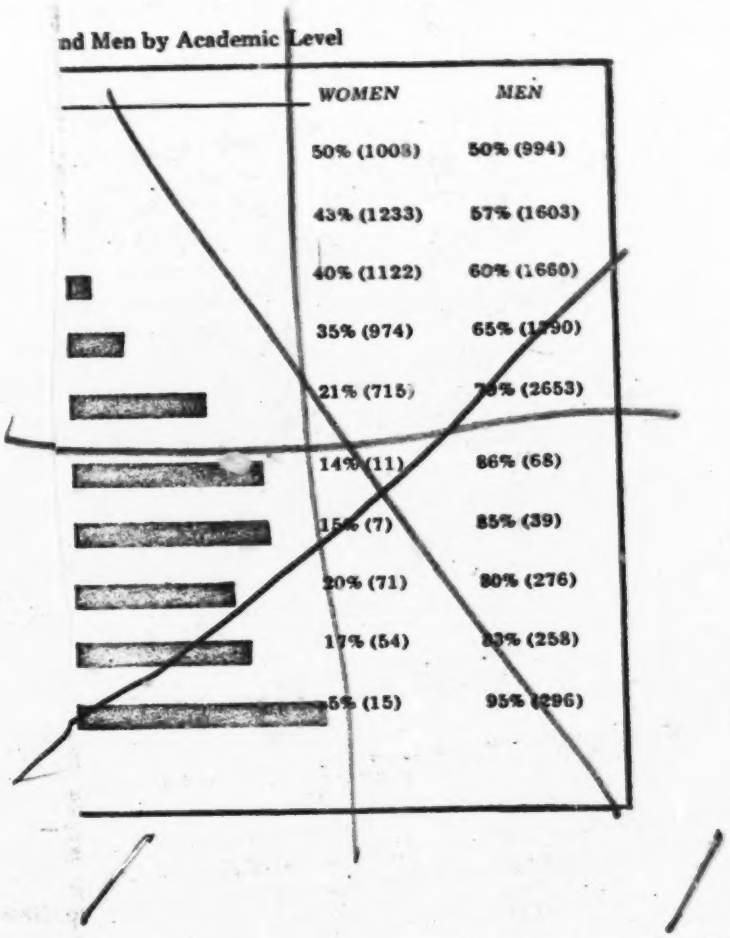
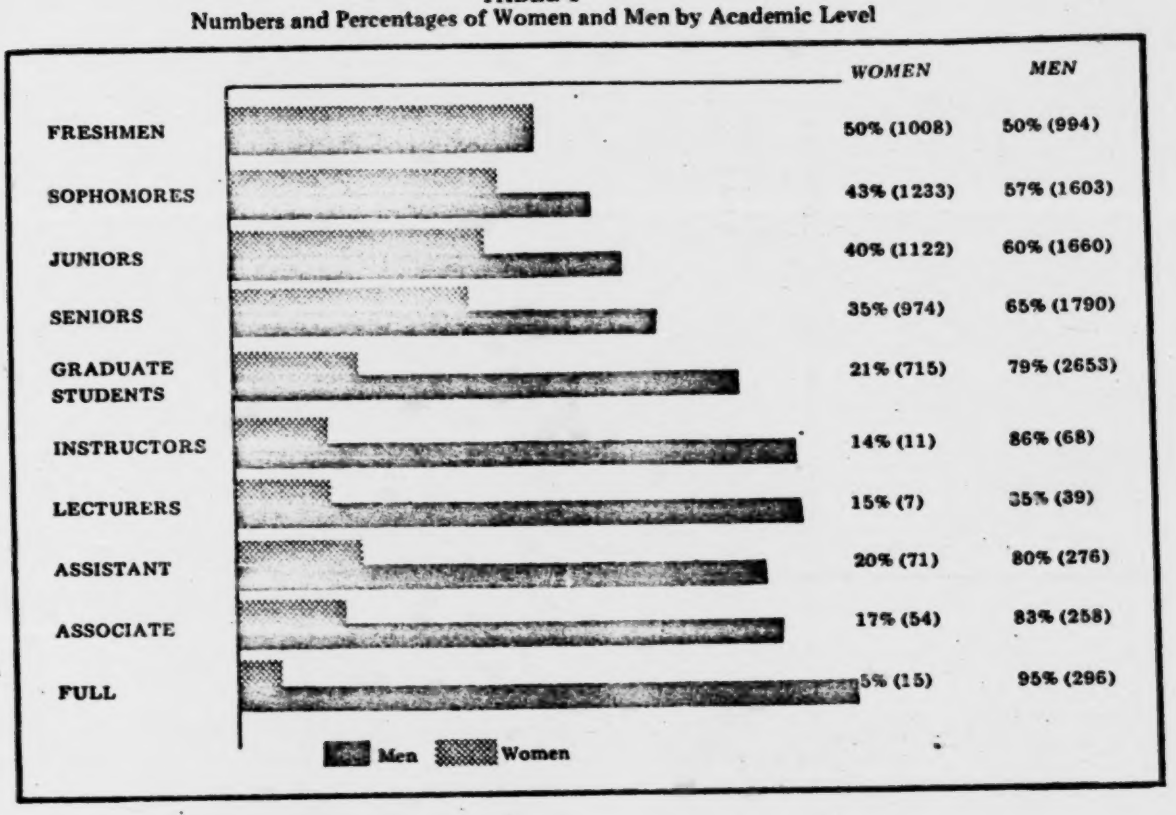


TABLE 1
Numbers and Percentages of Women and Men by Academic Level



sent only 21 per cent of the graduate students, 14 per cent of the faculty, and only 5 per cent of the full professors—that, in fact, women are progressively and more severely underutilized as they move up through the educational job categories.

In none of the seven faculties does the number of women even equal the number of men, either among teachers or graduate students. (Tables 2, 3 and 4). Of the 43 departments, schools, and faculties for which we list separate figures, 17 have no women faculty, 25 no tenured women. Only three show more women than men: theatre, nursing, health related professions. (Table 5)

It is interesting to discover that the social sciences, which include those disciplines we would suppose to be professionally concerned with social change and minority problems, reveal a significantly lower percentage (90 per cent or 311 men to 10 per cent or 34 women) of faculty women—the minority most represented in their own ranks—than the University as a whole (86 per cent men to 14 per cent women). The Sociology Department itself is lower in percentage faculty representation of women (89 per cent or 25 men to 11 per cent or 3 women) than the University as a whole. Even in the School of Social Welfare, traditionally a women's profession, faculty men outnumber faculty women 23 to 15.

Nor does the Faculty of Arts and Letters, which includes many of the disciplines in which women tend to concentrate, reveal any pattern more favorable to women. In fact, the total percentage patterns of Arts and Letters is exactly the same as the University's—86 per cent or 179 men to 14 per cent or 28 women. Art, classics, English and music all, however, have faculties 90 per cent or over male, and in the entire ten departments (English and comparative literature are combined), there is at present no single woman full professor.

On the other hand, Arts and Letters exhibits a startling disparity between faculty and graduate student ratios of men to women. Men and women are significantly more equitably represented among the graduate students: 58 per cent or 255 men to 42 per cent or 182 women. (Tables 2, 3 and 6)

This points up a highly suggestive pattern. In department after department, the percentages of women graduate students are higher than the percentages of women faculty. Of the 17 departments with no women faculty, 14 have anywhere from 1 per cent to 18 per cent women graduate students. In the 25 departments which do have women faculty members, every one has a higher percentage of women graduate students than of women faculty, and in 14 departments the percentages of women graduate students are at least double those of women faculty members. Six of the seven faculties show lower percentages of women teachers than of women graduate students.

What this suggests is that in department after department, overwhelmingly male faculties are earning their livings out of what has been referred to, perhaps unkindly, as the "pimping system," that is, by training women in professions into which they are unwilling to hire women as colleagues and equals. A situation like the History Department's, for example, where 24 per cent of the graduate students are women, but no woman is on the faculty, strongly indicates "underutilization"—women, professionally trained, are "available" in the work pool, but are not being hired. (Table 5). For this reason, I believe that one solution consistent with OFCC requirements would be for those depart-

TABLE 2

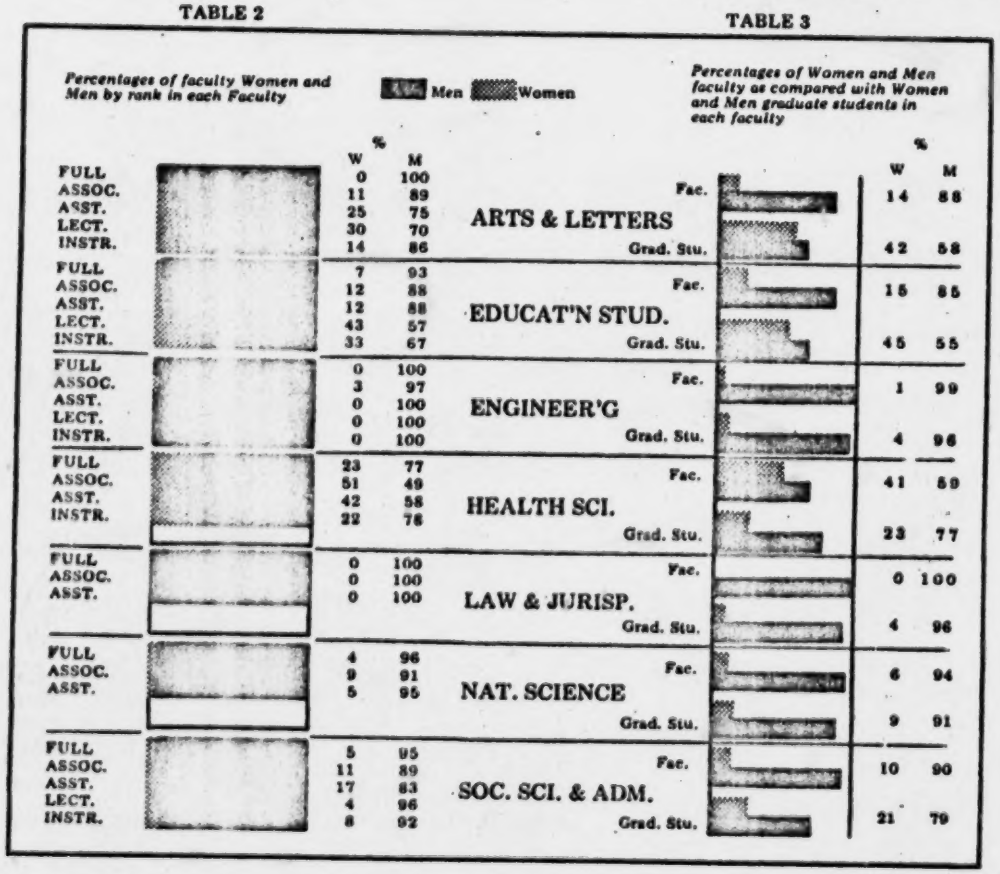


TABLE 3

TABLE 4
Number of Women and Men by Rank in each Faculty

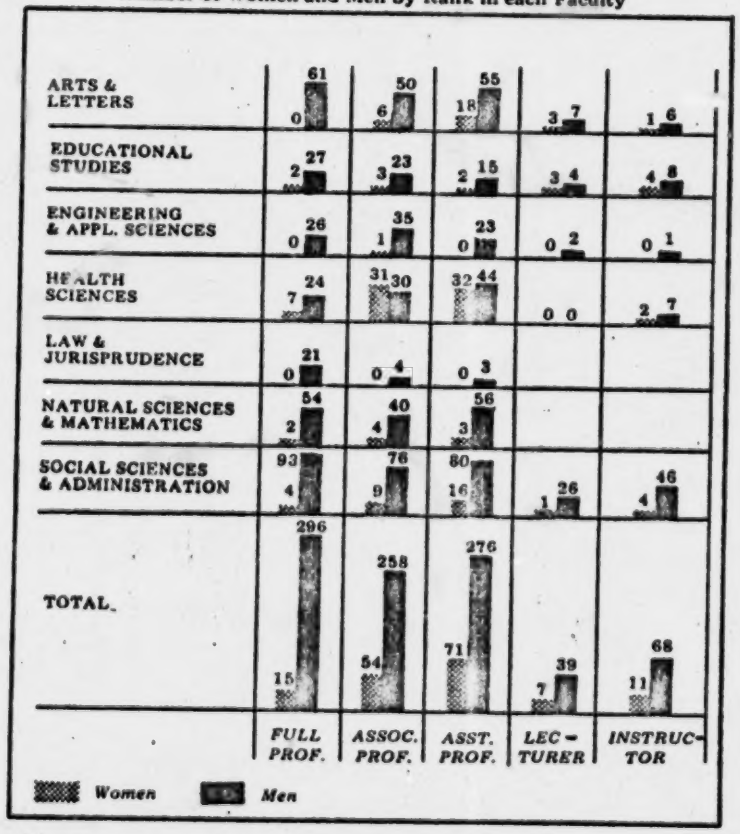

ARTS & LETTERS 0 61 6 50 18 55 3 7 1 6
EDUCATIONAL STUDIES 2 27 3 23 2 15 3 4 4 8
ENGINEERING & APPL. SCIENCES 0 26 1 35 0 23 0 2 0 1
HEALTH SCIENCES 7 24 31 30 32 44 0 0 2 7
LAW & JURISPRUDENCE 0 21 0 4 0 3
NATURAL SCIENCES & MATHEMATICS 2 54 4 40 3 56
SOCIAL SCIENCES & ADMINISTRATION 4 93 9 76 16 80 1 26 4 46
TOTAL 15 296 54 258 71 276 7 39 11 68
FULL PROF.
ASSOC. PROF.
ASST. PROF.
LECTURER
INSTRUCTOR
Women
Men

TABLE 5
Numbers and Percentages of Women and Men Faculty, Tenured Faculty, Graduate Students, and Subsidized Graduate Students in Each Department

Men Women Total

ARTS & LETTERS	Full Prof.		Assoc. Prof.		Asst. Prof.		Lect.		Inst.		Total M	%	W	%	T	Tenured* M	%	W	%	Grad. Student** M	%	W	%	T	Perc. of men and women grad. students who are subsidized** M	%	W	%
Amer. Studies	1		1		1						3	100			3	2	67			8	89	1	11	9	8	100	1	100
Arch. & Env. St.	1		1		1						3	100			3	2	67			14	82	3	18	17	14	100	3	100
Art	4		7	1	3		1				15	94	1	6	16	10	67											
Classics	4		4	1	1						9	90	1	10	10	8	89	1	100	21	75	7	25	28	20	95	6	86
English	28		13	2	26	5					67	90	7	10	74	41	63	2	29	124	63	72	37	196	113	93	60	87
French	8		5	1	2	2	1			1	16	80	4	20	20	11	69	1	25	29	53	60	67	89	7	24	11	18
Germ. & Slavic	3		6		3	3	3	2			15	75	5	25	20	9	60	1	20	17	50	17	50	34	10	59	11	65
Music	8		8		12	3			3		31	91	3	9	34	17	55			31	84	6	16	37	16	52	3	50
Spanish, It., Port.	4		3	1	6	3	1		2		16	80	4	20	20	13	81	4	100	11	41	16	59	27	10	91	14	88
Theatre	0		2			2	1	1	1		4	57	3	43	7	1	25	2	67									
	61	0	50	6	55	18	7	3	6	1	179	86	28	14	207	114	64	11	39	255	58	182	42	437	198	78	109	60
%	100	0	89	11	75	25	70	30	86	14	86		14			64		39										
EDUCATIONAL STUDIES																												
	27	2	23	3	15	2	4	3	8	4	77	85	14	15	91	50	65	4	29	179	55	145	45	324	35*	20	17*	12
%	93	7	88	12	88	12	57	43	67	33	85		15			65		29							*assistantships only			
ENGINEERING & APPLIED SCIENCES																												
Computer Sci.	2		3	1	2		1		1		9	90	1	10	10	3	33	1	100	32	80	8	20	40	22	69	7	88
Chem. Eng.	4		4		1						9	100			9	4	44			38	100			38	37	97		
Civil Eng.	6		4		6		1				17	100			17	6	35			35	97	1	3	36	22	63		
Electrical Eng.	3		4		4						11	100			11	7	64			26	100			26	23	88		
Industrial Eng.	1		3		4						8	100			8	4	50			37	95	2	5	39	18	49		
Engrg. Sci.	2		9		1						16	100			16	12	75			52	100			52	44	85		
Mech. Eng.	8		8		5						21	100			21	15	71			57	100			57	18	32		
	26		35	1	23		2		1		91	99	1		92	51	56	1	100	277	96	11	4	288	184	66	7	64
%	100		97	3	100		100		100		99		1			56		100										
HEALTH SCIENCES																												
Dentistry	15	1	17	1	29				5		66	97	2	3	68	?		?		274	98	6	2	280	102	37	2	33
Health Rel. Prof.	2		2	1	3	7					7	47	8	53	15	4	57	3	38	6	19	25	81	31	1	17	1	4
Medicine																												
Nursing		6		28	1	24				2	1	2	60	98	61			14	23	1	1	68	99	69	1	100	47	69
Pharmacy	7		11	1	11	1			2		31	94	2	6	33	18	58	1	50	79	92	7	8	86	76	96	7	100
	24	7	30	31	44	32			7	2	105	60	72	41	177	22	21	18	25	360	77			436	180	50	57	54
%	77	23	49	51	58	42			78	22	60		41			21		25										
LAW																												
	21		4		3						28	100				21	75			452	96	20	4	472	70	15	3	15
%	100																											
NATURAL SCIENCES & MATHEMATICS																												
Biology	10		5	1	11						26	96	1	4	27	15	58	1	100	58	89	7	11	65	56	97	7	100
Chemistry	11		10		8						29	97	1	3	30	20	69			103	88	14	12	117	91	87	12	86
Geol. Sci.	3		5		2						10	100			10	8	80			16	94	1	6	17	14	88	1	100
Math.	11	2	11	3	24						46	87	7	13	53	20	43	4	57	68	86	11	14	79	61	90	6	55
Physics & Astro.	13		7		8						28	100			28	19	68			70	99	1	1	71	57	81	1	100
Statistics	6		3		3						11	100			11	8	73			24	96	1	4	25	23	96	1	100
	54	2	40	4	56	3					150	94	9	6	159	90	60	5	56	339	91	35	9	374	302	89	28	80
%	96	4	91	9	95	5					94		6			60		56										
SOCIAL SCIENCES																												
Sch. Management	11		6		14		5		2		38	100			38	16	42			323	99	1	4	324	50	15	–	–
Social Welfare	3	2	10	6	10	7					23	61	15	39	38	11	48	8	53	72	47	81	53	153	56	78	60	74
Anthropology	5	1	5		2	1	2				14	89	2	13	16	10	71	1	50	25	71	70	29	35	16	64	4	40
Economics	6		3		6		5				20	100			20	8	40			32	91	3	9	35	26	81	3	100
Geography	2		4		2		2				10	100			10	6	60			24	92	2	8	26	10	42	2	100
History	12		12		12		1				37	100			37	24	65			55	76	17	24	72	33	60	10	59
Linguistics	3			1			1		1		5	83	1	17	6	3	60	1	100									
Philosophy	9		12		4		6	1	1		32	97	1	3	33	22	69			61	81	14	19	75	47	77	12	86
Political Science	8		6		8	2			3		25	93	2	7	27	13	52			43	81	10	19	53	38	88	9	90
Psychology	15	1	11	1	11	3			37	4	74	89	9	11	83	25	34	2	22	82	64	46	36	128	55	67	27	59
Sociology	7		7		8	3	1		2		25	89	3	11	28	15	60			55	66	28	34	83	28	51	10	36
Black Studies					2		3				5	100			5							1	100	1			1	100
Policy Sciences	2			1	1						3	75	1	25	4	1	33			19	86	3	14	22	18	95	3	100
	83	4	76	9	80	16	26	1	46	4	311	90	34	10	345	154	50	12	35	791	79	216	21	1007	377	48	141	65
%	95	5	89	11	83	17	96	4	92	8	90		10			50		35										
TOTALS																												
	296	15	258	54	276	71	39	7	68	11	941	86	158	14	1099	502	53	51	32	2653	79	715	21	3368	1346	51	362	51
%	95	5	83	17	80	20	85	15	86	14	86		14			53		32										

*See footnote 9
**Figures do not include Art, Theatre, Linguistics and Medicine

ments which exhibit such discriminatory patterns to start hiring their own women graduates.

A further interesting question is raised by comparing the percentage of men graduate students who are subsidized to that of women graduate students who are subsidized. While women comprise only 21 per cent of the total graduate students, strangely enough an identical percentage (51 per cent) of men and women are subsidized.

What are we to make of this? We are, of course, without information on which to compare amounts of subsidy, numbers of applicants, and rates of rejection, so that any conclusions we can offer are highly tentative. Yet, if we assume that subsidization is awarded on ability, and note that exactly the same percentage of women and men graduate students show subsidizable merit, then the women who do manage to become graduate students do not seem to be discriminated against. This would suggest that the University's efforts would be best directed toward recruiting more women into graduate school, at least to something nearer their percentage representation among the undergraduates.

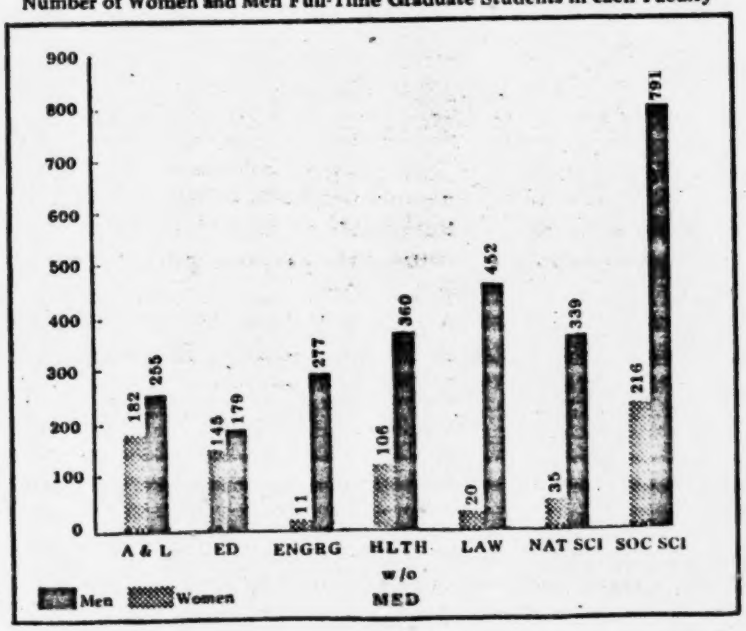
A second question is raised when we compare the percentage of women graduate students who are subsidized (51 per cent) to the percentage of women faculty who are tenured (32 per cent). If tenure, like subsidy, is awarded on merit, then we find again that women are less represented in the higher job category.

Among the faculty generally, we find that women comprise 20 per cent (72 of 276) of the assistant professors, 17 per cent (54 of 258) of the associate professors, and 5 per cent (15 of 296) of the full professors. In the University, then, as elsewhere, women are concentrated in the low-paying, low-ranking jobs with the least security, and are neither hired nor promoted according to "availability." For "availability" is not simply confined to the women who already work in the University, but also, according to the OFCC, to trained women in the community. Let us consider a group of common practices by which the University arbitrarily restricts itself from considering "available" women for hiring and promotion.

A Miscellany of Discriminatory Practices

The nepotism rule, the no-inbred-

TABLE 6
Number of Women and Men Full-Time Graduate Students in each Faculty



Note: Enrollment figures are as of Fall, 1969. Health Sciences figures do not include Medical School Faculty figures or Dental School Tenure figures.

hiring policies, and the tenure system are among those that perpetuate discriminatory hiring and firing patterns and are contrary to the spirit of Executive Orders 11246 and 11375.

Nepotism: We have all heard the arguments that the nepotism rule (now called the "favoritism" rule, and recently reaffirmed by Chancellor Gould) works against men as well as women, that it is a dead letter, that it will prevent a hypothetical department chairman in a hypothetical college from hiring his hypothetical wife to create a hypothetical voting bloc, or that it provides a social convenience for a chairman reluctant to turn down one of a couple. But changing the name does not change the rule, and dead letter or no (we do have couples serving in the same department on this campus by dispensation from above), the nepotism rule was instituted against the hiring of wives and remains to penalize women.

Since it is culturally acceptable for husbands to put their careers first, but not for wives no matter how qualified, any forced choice between which partner is to work finds the advantage almost entirely with the husband. Thus the many academic women who marry academic men are forced into having to decide between career and marriage; their opportunities for combining both at what may be the best or even the only university in the area are denied them by an archaic nepotism rule.

Further, in a day of growing numbers of academic husband and wife teams, especially in the sciences, the rule's very presence on the books can discourage qualified couples from applying. Conversely, having no nepotism rule can work to keep faculty teams from leaving for other universities where the wife can't work. Clearly the costs of the nepotism rule to the University are far higher than the advantages.

No-inbred-hiring policies: The widespread policy of "no-inbred-hiring" by which a department or university refuses to employ any person who holds a degree from that university, works, like the nepotism rule, to deprive women of equal opportunities in employment.

Women who marry faculty men and move to the universities where their husbands have been hired may want to start or complete their graduate studies. On being awarded their degrees, however, they find that the university will not hire them. This is also true of the growing number of graduate students who marry faculty members. The policy also discriminates against women who want to return to graduate studies after marriage to men who are already established in the community — because their husbands cannot or will not move, these women are discouraged because no university job will be open to them, even if they do earn their degrees. Finally, the "no-inbred-hiring" rule, by its very existence, discourages many women from coming back for degrees at all, because there seems to be simply no way of using a long and expensive training.

The "no-inbred-hiring" policy was established and widely accepted in an era of academic life very different from today's. Universities, faculties, and student bodies were smaller; there was much less movement from campus to campus, much less variety in subject, discipline, approach. Today's university, however, needs no such discriminatory restrictions; it is to the university's best interests to interview *all* applicants, including its own, and to choose from the widest field possible the best it can get. Any policy based on exclusion betrays the university's principles and restricts its choices as well as those of any person, especially a woman, seeking a job.

Tenure—Write on: One of the most powerful and unexamined areas of discrimination against women in the university world resides in the arteriosclerotic tenure system.

A glance at the tables and graphs again shows the familiar pattern.[9] Tenured women represent 5 per cent of the total faculty (51 of 1099), while tenured men represent 50 per cent (502 of 1099) of the total faculty. More significant, of all the women faculty, 32 per cent (51 of 158) are tenured; of all the men faculty 53 per cent (502 of 941) are tenured. Seventeen of 42 departments have no women; 22 have no tenured women. Significantly, when we consider length of service as a tenure requirement, we

TABLE 7
A group of Administrative Salaries by Degree, Age, and Sex

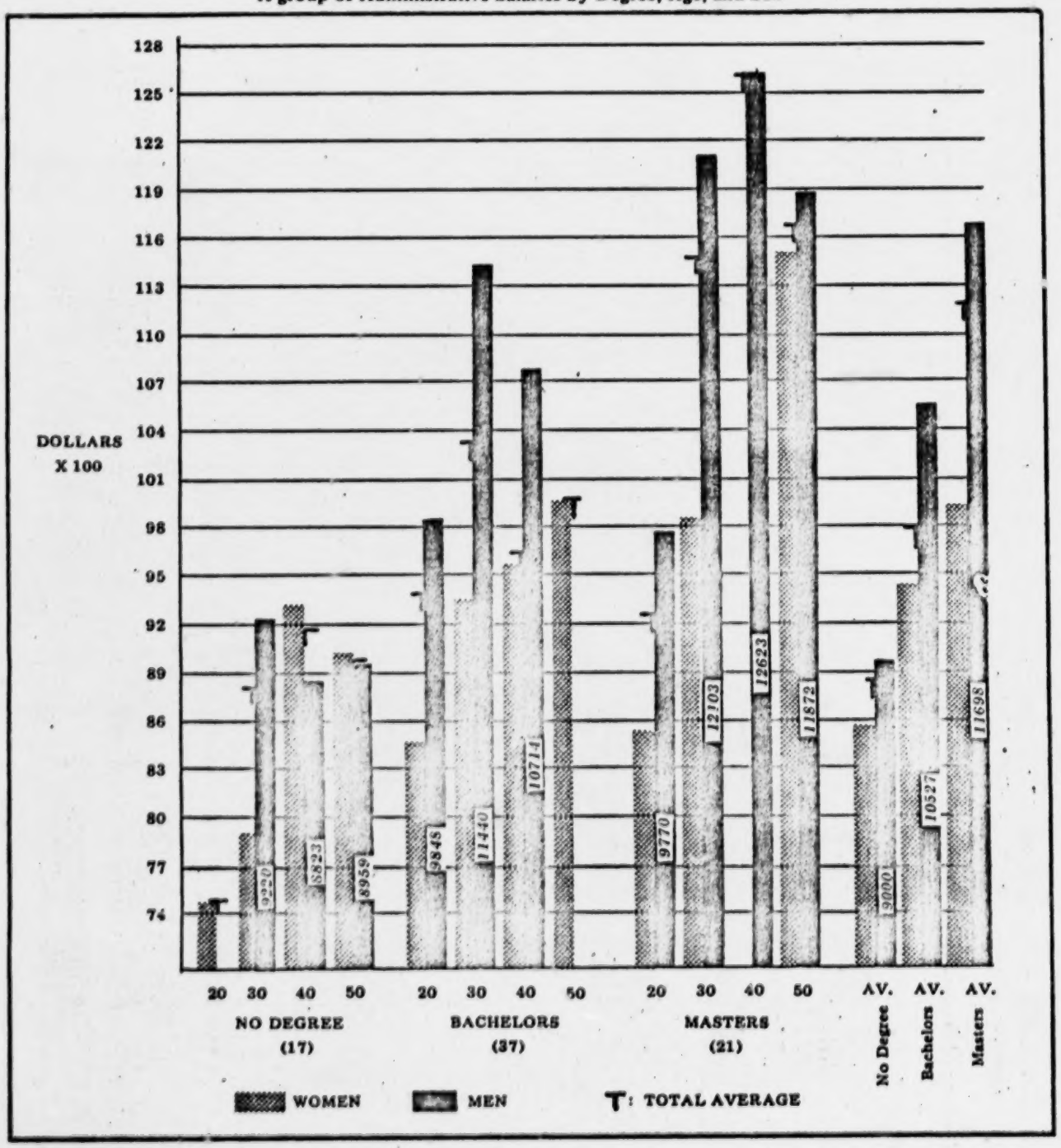
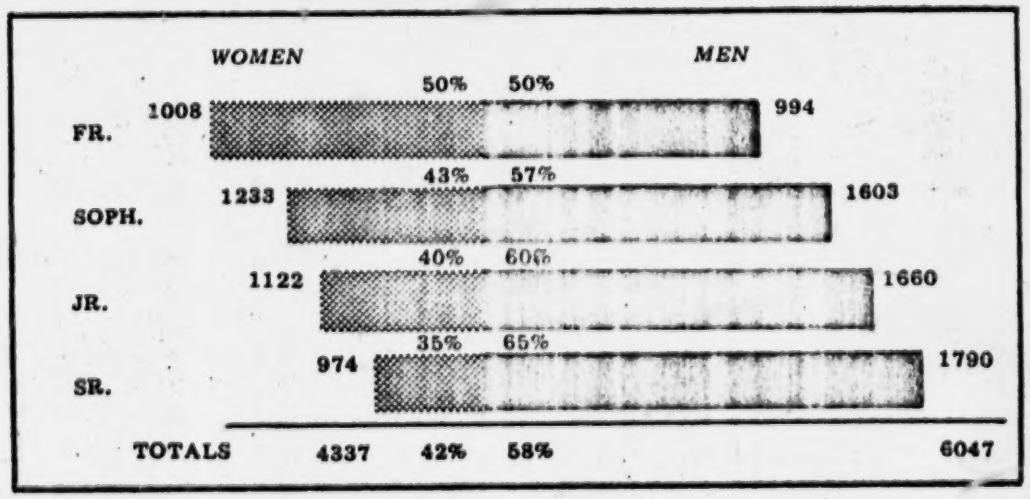


TABLE 8
Students: "It's Better to Marry than Learn":

Men Women

	Men	%	Women	%	Full Time Total	Part-Time Total	Full non-credit	
FULL-TIME STUDENT ENROLLMENT, FALL 1969								
Freshmen	994	50	1008	50	2002			
Sophomores	1603	57	1233	43	2836			
Juniors	1660	60	1122	40	2782			
Seniors	1790	65	974	35	2764			
Total	6047	58	4337	42	10,384			10,384
PART-TIME ENROLLMENT, FALL 1969								
Freshmen	8	31	18	69	26			
Sophomores	13	35	24	65	37			
Juniors	23	35	43	65	66			
Seniors	46	41	66	59	112			
Total	90	37	151	63	241	241		241
							TOTAL CREDIT	10,625
FULL-TIME NON-CREDIT ENROLLMENT, FALL 1969								
Lower	12		203		215			
Upper	14		27		41			
Total	26		230		256		256	256
PART-TIME NON-CREDIT ENROLLMENT								
Lower	25		19		44			
Upper	26		56		82			
Total	51		64		126	126		126
							TOTAL NON-CREDIT	382
							TOTAL	11,007

TABLE 9
Numbers and Percentages of Women and Men enrolled as Full-Time Undergraduates (Day School)



discover that of faculty who have been here from 0-5 years, 38 per cent (169 of 450) of the men have tenure, but only 17 per cent (8 of 47) of the women. At 5-10 years of service, we find 86 per cent of the men have tenure, but only 58 per cent of the women (15 of 26).

Even among the tenured faculty, women tend to concentrate at the lower rank of associate professor. Of tenured men (502), 296 or 59 per cent are full professors; of tenured women (51), 15 or 30 per cent are full professors. All this strongly suggests disparate selection rates of women.

The original purpose of tenure was to assure faculty of their jobs after a suitable probationary period of service and amount of "production." It can become, however, something very different — no longer a disinterested means of judging someone's worth in the academic community, but, in effect, and at its worst, a mechanism which can be used to regulate faculty size in line with the general economic situation. This practice can ensure universities of: 1) a low level turnover and a cheap demand labor supply; 2) a means of weeding out "troublemakers" and 3) a means of rewarding the safe dull teacher who has the safe dull book. Perhaps the most distasteful aspect of the system is the way it operates: a person's fate is decided by a committee which doesn't know him or her, in a closed session in which he or she cannot be present and cannot hear the evidence or plead in his or her own case, and which increasingly denies tenure over the more informed recommendations of his or her own department. Often the criteria are unclear; although the most commonly cited one is publication, in some cases people can be granted tenure for "service."

All these conditions militate against women; all create a competitive situation in which her cultural conditioning puts her at the greatest disadvantage. Why publication is more difficult for women than men needs to be explored, but the fact is that it exists. Further studies indicate that because the professional work of women, regardless of quality, is granted less credence than that of men, publication is probably harder for women to achieve even when they do produce, especially in a world of male dominated editorial boards.[10] The publication criterion, therefore, is inherently favorable to men.

Though service, the other possible criterion, is not so well established, it is equally male biased, for men more often than women are appointed to the committees or positions or administrative posts which will enable them to fulfill this criterion.

The University clearly cannot take any official action which will automatically repeal cultural conditioning, but in the matter of tenure it can effect some reforms to bleed the system of sexist bias. It can adopt a broader base of tenure criteria to include emphasis on teaching, service to the University and the community, and the necessity of women as visible life models. Because tenure means promotion, and because the patterns clearly show that as presently practiced it discriminates against women as a *selection system*, the whole tenure procedure should be subjected to a validation study on this basis alone.

Appointments: Discriminatory patterns against women are strongly suggested when we look into such areas as department chairmen and the appointments of women to committees. Nursing, traditionally a woman's profession, is the only department chaired by a woman. Chairs are, of course, extremely difficult for women to attain, but many committee appointments are made by executive decision, where prejudice against women in authoritarian roles could be most easily avoided.

We have not gathered, systematically, the data on committees. A recent list, however, of the nine faculty

standing committees published in the *Reporter* shows some attempt to include women — a total of five women serve on four of the nine committees. No committee, however, is chaired by a woman, and no woman appears on the Economic Status, Educational Planning and Policy, Library, Publication, and Student Affairs Committees. No woman serves on the SUNY/B Council.

The newly formed Faculty Grievance Committee, and the Medical School Admission Committee present special cases. Women serve on them only by virtue of having insisted on representation. A November demand by NOW (the National Organization for Women) to Dean Pesch of the Medical School which was thoroughly covered by press and television resulted in the promise of three women appointees to the Admissions Board. To date, however, only two of those appointments have been made.

When the Faculty Grievance Committee was formed, its first grievance came from a faculty member of NOW who complained that there was no woman on the Grievance Committee. An extraordinarily sympathetic committee chairman argued for and got the appointment of a woman, largely through pointing out that he was already receiving grievances from women.

Status of Women in Administration, Staff, and Student Body

Administration: Room at the Top! The status of faculty women at SUNY/B is merely one episode in the continuing story of discrimination against women on the campus; the pattern is even more pronounced in the administration. A single glance at page vi of the current Faculty Directory listing the University Administrative Officers reveals that we have no women among the nine executive assistants, assistants, or advisors to the president, no woman among the 26 vice presidents, (University-wide) deans, provosts, masters of the colleges, one woman among the 12 deans of schools (the dean of the School of Nursing), and one-half woman among the numerous directors of councils, services or offices —— Barbara Sims, who is the part-time director of the campus Office of Economic Opportunity.

Staff: Starting at the bottom and staying there. The Faculty Directory also shows us that while service and administration departments are overwhelmingly headed by men, they are largely staffed by women. While no figures are available on length of service, rate of promotion, and qualifications, again a familiar pattern emerges: staff women in the University perform the traditional office housekeeping chores, and have small chance of promotion to the positions of heads of divisions or offices.

We do, however, have information from 1968-69 on a group of administrative salaries. Table 7 analyses 75 related administrative categories by sex and academic degree. Again, we see the familiar pattern: women in the same job categories and with the same degrees as men receive considerably less money as a group, and as the salaries increase, so does the gap. Among those with no degree, the average difference is $200 more a year for men; with a bachelor's degree, $400 more for men; and with a master's degree, a shocking *$1200 more on the average* for men than women.

Students: Tables 8 and 9 reveal that the University is not encouraging women to seek educational opportunity equal with men. While men and women are numerically equal as freshmen, as seniors, men outnumber women two to one. The percentage drop in women is steady, year by year. Further, while the University discourages part-time enrollment as a

general policy, women avail themselves of whatever limited opportunity there is nearly twice as much as men, suggesting that no-part-time policies are particularly discriminatory against women. Women also avail themselves more often than men of the limited opportunity for full-time non-credit enrollment, especially in the lower division, where they outnumber the men by a startling 203 to 12.

Somehow, then, we are doing two things — allowing women to drop out, to succumb to the pressures to quit school to work or marry at a rate much faster than men, and we are limiting the part-time and non-credit opportunities women seek more often than men. We are, therefore, as a University, as guilty as everyone else of not moving to counteract the social pressures which discourage women from achievement — the same pressures which relegate women to minority status in the first place.

To repair the effects of its omission, the University can undertake a twofold responsibility: 1) of encouraging women not to drop out before completing their degrees, and to go on to graduate school, and 2) of creating genuine opportunities for women to return to complete their degrees or enter graduate school after time out for marriage, work, or childbearing. The very fact that so many women do come back, even in the face of such discouraging conditions, merely argues the need. If the University is truly to provide equal educational opportunity for women, encouragement can, and, indeed, must be provided by three methods: 1) the abolition of all no-part-time student rules and the establishment of part-time scholarships, 2) the establishment of free, professional child care, and 3) the undertaking of compensatory recruiting programs for women students, especially in traditionally male-oriented professions such as medicine, law, engineering, management.

1) *The abolition of all no-part-time student rules* speaks for itself, on all levels and in all possible departments. Even at part-time, many women can go only if provided with scholarships — and there are none.

2) *Free child care* is at the heart of all women's demands for equal rights. We cannot seek equal education until we can get out of the home without being penalized, and we cannot do that without child care. Every women's group from the YWCA to NOW to the Radical Feminists is demanding this essential, and it is up to the University to provide it.

Further, child care cannot be offered on a volunteer or cooperative basis, but must be professional and paid for by the University, because we will not be offering women equal educational opportunity as long as women are still required to pay in any way for having children, either by fees or by volunteer service. Fees would be merely another extension of our discriminatory tax laws which restrict a woman's right to deduct child care from her taxes, although the only way she can go out to earn the money to pay those taxes is by hiring child care. Nor can volunteer service be required. Our cultural attitudes have too long taken the services of women for granted—especially the volunteer services. In settling for volunteer child care the University would simply abdicate its own responsibility, while perpetuating the usual discriminatory attitudes that children are entirely the woman's responsibility, not society's; saying, in effect, women must not expect to qualify for equal education until they can first solve their real responsibility on their own — but we won't help them.

In other words, the attitude is and always has been that women are entitled to seek intellectual rewards, only after they have paid the price of their biology.

Finally, we must recognize that the professional child care so desperately needed in this country, and for which both states and Federal government

have appropriated so much money, requires professionally trained personnel. Moreover, professional child care offers the possibility of a new job market for women; the University could very effectively couple its child care center with a certification program for training such personnel.

3) Compensatory recruiting programs for women, as for any other minority, are required by the principle of state-supported education, especially in the male-oriented professions.

The proposed OFCC Guidelines on sex discrimination are very specific on the matter of recruiting (60-20.2 "Recruitment"). For instance, "recruiters must include in the itineraries of their recruiting trips, women's colleges, and the female students of coeducational colleges, technical institutes, and high schools. . . . Written advertisements should be designed to attract women by specifically inviting them to apply for those jobs where they are not typically represented. . . . Affirmative action should include a careful examination of the company's work needs so that these women may not be excluded from job opportunities."

For example, until NOW made its demands, the Medical School had no policy of actively recruiting women students, in spite of the fact that of over 2,200 applicants last year, only 105 were women. Significantly, as a group the women proved better qualified than the men: 28 per cent of the women, as opposed to 8 per cent of the men, were admitted, suggesting that women feel they have no chance in medicine unless they are better qualified than men.

NOW charged that while there seems to be no discrimination in admitting qualified women once they applied, nevertheless, the Medical School had avoided its responsibility to provide equal educational *opportunity* by not undertaking an active compensatory recruiting program for women, who are too often discouraged from applying by bad counseling, by an impression of the medical profession as hostile to women, or by fear of being unqualified because they are women. NOW demanded that the Medical School recruit women as it has agreed to recruit other minority groups, and while Dean Pesch agreed at the meeting to do so, nothing I can learn of has been done to extend the program to women.

The same old familiar story is true of the Engineering School and the School of Management, other traditionally male professions. Engineering has very recently established an ambitious minority recruiting program, which, as usual, simply ignores the existence of women. The Law School, however, has agreed to talk to NOW about a recruiting program. I do not know if the School of Management has a minority recruiting program, but I do know that of 324 graduate students, only one is a woman.

Warning—the contents of this course may be injurious to mental health. Women are discriminated against even in the subject matter they study, for course materials often perpetuate the moss-grown cultural attitudes toward women as inferiors. In this sophisticated age, however, the "woman's place is in the home" argument has given way to the blatant but no less condescending, "as much as women want to be good scientists and engineers, they want first and foremost to be womanly companions of men and to be mothers."[11]

Many disciplines, particularly in the social sciences, teach the traditional sex roles as if they were holy truths rather than the result of cultural conditioning. By this I do not mean to say that the ideas of Bruno Bettelheim or Erik Erikson or Sigmund Freud should not be taught, but that their male orientation must be clearly labeled, so that students—men as well as women—will know that they are being taught theories, not facts.

REPO

The University's Responsibility to Act:

Policy and Program

The University can begin the difficult task of admitting women to equal status by first taking the imperative and legally required step of committing itself in good faith to a strong, stated policy to assure all women in the University — faculty, staff, and students—equal opportunities in education and employment. In addition to stating policy, the University must recognize that, as an experimental laboratory for social progress, it is responsible for undertaking the strongest possible reform program. This, of course, requires understanding the peculiar position of women in this world — that in spite of being a majority in the population, we occupy minority status, and that this in turn makes the effort to raise us from minority status imperative.

What the University clearly needs, then, is a comprehensive "affirmative action program" to end sex discrimination. If the University does not adopt such a plan, it puts itself in the position of denying all it has fondly hoped it stood for.

SUNY is the largest university system in the world, and Buffalo, its most diverse and influential campus, has achieved a leading national role in the development of academic policies and design. Therefore, the University must decisively take the initiative in effecting reforms of such importance to so many. Moreover, the University might as well recognize two paramount factors: 1) women are finally out to win equality, and 2) it would be a sorry day indeed if this University abdicated its position in the academic world by any means so shabby as denying the women who teach and study and work in it the overdue recognition of their equal worth with men.

To state a general policy and then to wait for the Great Administration in the Sky to do something is, however, worse than doing nothing at all. Therefore, having complained of the corn, I prescribe the plaster in the form of the following, (and only living) Affirmative Action Program as called for by the Department of Labor guidelines.

A Plan for Affirmative Action To End Discrimination Against Women

As called for by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance to meet the conditions set out in Executive Orders 11246 and 11375. Proposed for adoption to the State University of New York at Buffalo.

I. Policy

The University shall adopt an *affirmative policy* in respect to women that shall assure all women in the University—faculty, staff, and students—equal opportunities in education and employment.

A. The University must recognize (as does the Federal government) that discrimination against women relegates us to minority status.

B. The University must establish immediately an Affirmative Action Program to rid itself of discriminatory practices against women in conformance with the proposed guidelines of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance under Executive Orders 11246 and 11375. This Program must include goals, an implementing body, and a clearly defined time schedule.

C. The University must estimate and establish a budget and appropriate all moneys necessary to enable the implementing body to carry out effectively the Affirmative Action Program.

D. The University must commit itself to carry out the spirit as well as the letter of Executive Orders 11246 and 11375.

II. Implementing Body

The University shall establish an autonomous Office to Equalize the Status of Women, under a newly created and appointed vice president, who shall be directly responsible to the president. The Office shall include one member from each faculty agreeable to the vice president, in addition to all necessary paid professional staff. This Office shall be in operation by September 1, 1970, and shall have the duty of establishing programs and procedures to carry out the Affirmative Action Program, including the following:

1. *Research:*

a) The Office shall initiate, coordinate, and make available needed research on the status of women through the Research Center under the Women's Program of the American Studies Program.

b) It shall review for inequities all salaries, rank, appointments, and tenure among women faculty and staff.

c) It shall review all major job classifications for adequacy of representation of women. Where disparity of representation is determined, corrective action, described in terms of specific goals and timetables, shall be immediately authorized.

d) It shall review all *selection systems* (including admissions, promotion criteria, hiring, committee appointments leading to tenure, tenure) in all major classifications for *disparate selection rates* of women. In job classifications where selection rates vary from the level of adequate representation, (Adequate representation shall be defined as the employment of women in each classification in numbers equal to the proportion of the combined faculty, staff, and student women to the University population as a whole.) by 10 per cent or more, an immediate validation study shall be undertaken into the reliability of that selection system.

e) It shall initiate and maintain review and research on the granting of all scholarships, assistantships, and financial aid to women students.

2. *Advisory:*

a) The Office shall establish a job bank to search out women to be considered for all appointments and positions in the University.

b) It shall be responsible for the coordination of counseling objectives for women as outlined under the section "Equal Educational Opportunities," point 5.

c) It shall undertake a coordinated program of vocational counseling and of developing through cooperation with local industry and government *new employment opportunities* and training for women, including job placement. This shall include a concentrated effort to develop part-time opportunities at all levels in local employment as covered in the proposed OFCC Guidelines on sex discrimination.

3. *Publication:*

The Office shall issue a yearly pub-

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lic report on the University's progress on its Affirmative Action Program in conformance with the proposed OFCC Guidelines (Sec. 60-20.8). The Office will submit the report to the Office of Federal Contract Compliance as its Compliance Review Report. This report shall be made available to the Chancellor, SUNY trustees, U/B Council, president, faculty and students. The Office will urge that its experience and techniques be used as guidelines for the entire State University of New York.

Goal: Equal Educational Opportunity

Because the traditional male/female roles permeate so much of our thinking, we must be careful not to extend the traditional penalties our society exacts for being a woman to our women students. In its complaint to the government, WEAL (Women's Equity Action League) points out that "admission to undergraduate-graduate programs are akin to the apprenticeship programs of industry." Under the provisions of the proposed OFCC Guidelines (Sec. 60-20.2), the University must make compensatory efforts to recruit women to enter any profession, especially the "male oriented." On principle, it must also assure them the financial aid to make equal education possible regardless of sex, or of marital or parental grounds. Central to this purpose are the points outlined under the goal of freedom from biological penalty, especially the requirement of free child care.

1. The University shall extend all minority recruiting programs to include women in each category, especially in the traditionally "male" professions, such as medical, engineering, law and business management, in conformance with proposed OFCC Guidelines (Sec. 60-20.2 a and b).

2. All departments shall be required to abolish any "no-part-time enrollment" policies at every level of study as discriminatory to women whose opportunities for education are limited by family, in conformance with the proposed OFCC Guidelines (Sec. 60-20.2c). The University shall establish part-time scholarships to encourage women to return to school.

3. Because the University trains women into professions in greater numbers than it is willing to hire them, departments shall be required to hire women up to the minimum of the levels of their representation in graduate programs, if not from outside then from the ranks of their own graduate students. (Cf. Goal I, pts. 1, d and e.) This practice will help keep women from being discouraged from finishing their studies by the limited job opportunities, or the minimal chance of advancement open to them.

4. No woman shall be denied equal scholarship or financial aid on the grounds of sex, marriage or possible marriage, pregnancy or possible pregnancy.

5. The University shall establish a plan to coordinate counseling services for women, to include offering advisory counseling in high schools and elementary schools as well as college with a view toward encouraging women to enter traditionally male professions, and increasing counseling to women of all ages who wish to return to the University.

6. The University shall establish a policy and a program whereby it shall recognize the concrete value of the unpaid services of women in volunteer work and community service by granting valid credit for such service, past or present, that shall count toward an appropriate degree.

7. The University shall include the Continuing Education Program in its own program of study, removing from it the burden of being self-supporting.

8. Wherever disparate selection rates of women into any level or program of study appear, validation studies shall be undertaken into the

adequacy of the admissions selection systems and criteria. Unless the selection system is shown to be valid, corrective action shall be described in terms of specific goals and timetables.

9. Since many grants, fellowships, loans and scholarships are made possible through Federal moneys, under the principle of *class action* the total of University scholarships, grants, fellowships and the like shall be subject to review for adequate representation of women.

Goal: Freedom from Biological Penalties

I will not here go into the arguments against the *"kinder, kuche, kirche"* theory, on the assumption that any institution dedicated to knowledge and the future should not need to hear them. The University certainly would not *officially* subscribe to a principle that a woman's unique biological ability to bear children entitles her to only partial education or secondary employment status. But this very principle is at the heart of the cultural attitudes that deprive women; by not moving to combat it within itself, the University does, in fact, subscribe to it. Therefore it is the University's particular responsibility to initiate any experimental program, *no matter how expensive or far-reaching,* which can possibly relieve women of the penalties their biology exacts.

1. *Child care*: The University shall establish a complete child care facility free to the children of all faculty, staff, and students of children from birth to 12 years, to include educational programs, and to be in operation at all times that the libraries and other facilities are open, classes are in session, and women are working at the University. This child care facility shall be operated in conjunction with a certification program for training professional child care personnel.

2. *Maternity leave*: All faculty members must be granted six weeks of paid maternity leave; all staff must be granted paid maternity leave of six weeks with no loss of job, status, benefits, or seniority, on contracting to return to work for an agreed upon minimum period of time. No woman student shall be denied scholarship benefits, fellowships, academic standing on the grounds of marriage or possible marriage, pregnancy or possible pregnancy.

3. *Population control center*: The University shall expand its medical services for women to include gynecological examination, complete birth control counseling and prescription, and with the repeal of abortion laws, prepare for realistic unwanted pregnancy counseling and all related medical care allowed within the law.

4. *Medical Insurance*: The University shall not subscribe to or require or encourage its employees or students to subscribe to any medical insurance plan which: a) does not ensure equal benefits such as life insurance or survivor's benefits to women employees or their spouses, or which b) takes a moralistic stance discriminatory to women on maternity or pregnancy coverage, such as the 270-day married maternity benefit policy or refusal to cover legal abortion or unmarried maternity.

Goal: Academic Reform

Existing curricula are particularly responsible for perpetuating through apathy the derogatory attitudes of our culture toward women, by simply not examining course material for sexist bias. Part of the cause for this lies in the lack of enlightened research, for existing research, done mostly by men, is too often sexually biased itself. Therefore, we call for a three point curriculum reform program aimed at: 1) developing curriculum, 2) undertaking research in woman's

studies, and 3) abolishing sexual bias or reviewing material for sexual bias, in existing courses.

1. The American Studies Program has established a pilot program in Women's studies to include cross-listed courses in sociology, English Literature, social work, and history. This shall be expanded by the immediate hiring of a full-time woman to the faculty to head the program, and of other full-time faculty to teach in it.

2. In conjunction with this program, the University shall establish an adequately-funded center for curriculum development and for research into all questions—social, economic, political, psychological, educational, literary, historical, medical—to do with woman's place in society. This research center shall be available to all students on campus wishing to use it in conjunction with course work in any college, faculty, department or program; to any students in the University who wish to undertake independent research projects for credit under the program of women's studies. All departments shall inform their staff and students of such research and research facilities.

3. All record keeping divisions, all departments and facilities of the University shall be directed to cooperate with the Women's Program research center by: a) keeping all records to do with hiring, promotion, rank, salaries, financial aid, degrees awarded and other pertinent materials coded by sex, and b) making these records available.

4. Every relevant department, especially in the male-oriented professions, shall be directed to consider establishing courses within their curricula dealing with women's studies. (Suggestions: *Law School*: Women in the Law; *Psychology Department*: Male orientation in psychological theory and testing; *Anthropology*: The function of cultural conditioning in male and female roles; *Education*: Research into traditional sex roles in elementary textbooks.)

5. All courses which present a subservient or degraded image of women shall be abolished, revised, or clearly labeled.

Goal: Equal Employment Opportunities

In accordance with the proposed OFCC Guidelines under Executive Order 11375, the University shall move immediately to recruit more women faculty, to effect promotions, and to appoint women to high level administrative posts. It shall assure to all women in the University: 1) opportunities for advancement to top posts, 2) correction of inequities, and 3) the abolition of all rulings, policies, and criteria written and unwritten, detrimental to the employment status of women.

Women shall no longer be excluded from the positions of power and decision making in the University. If that exclusion is ever to disappear from American society, the University must e n c o u r a g e all women through example, and through the presence of life models.

1. *New Faculty lines*: In conformance with the present policy of the standing committee on minority hiring, to reserve a certain percentage of new faculty lines to minority groups, one-half the new lines and of replacement lines shall be reserved for women.

2. *Correcting Inequities*: The University shall establish a program and timetable to investigate and correct inequities in tenure, salaries, teaching loads, benefits, assignment of assistants and office help. (Cf. Implementing Body, point 1 b and c.)

3. *Committees*: A determined effort by the University, the Faculty Senate, and the separate departments to place women on all committees, according to an acceptable timetable, shall be undertaken.

4. *Nepotism rule*: The president of the University and the Faculty Senate are urged to make the strongest possible representations to Chancellor Gould and the University Trustees for immediate removal of the *de facto* nepotism rule as contrary to the spirit of Executive Orders 11246 and 11375.

5. *Tenure*: The tenure system shall be reformed to rid it of sexist bias by broadening the base of tenure criteria to include teaching, service to the University and the community, and to take into account the value of faculty women as life models. The tenure system is contrary to the spirit of Executive Order 11375, and shall not be used either to reflect the economic condition of the University nor to perpetuate the employment patterns unfavorable to women in society at large. Therefore, tenure shall be subject to review for disparate selection rates of women and to a validation study

into its adequacy as a *selection system.*

The guidelines of appropriate Federal bodies and the New York State Commission on Human Rights shall be rigorously applied to the "granting" of tenure. Decisions shall be made in the presence of the faculty member, and in case of dispute, the State Commission on Human Rights shall be asked for a ruling based on cases of previously "granted" tenure, reserving, however, the faculty member's right to counsel and right to appeal to a higher court as in any extra-University case.

6. The Faculty Senate Presidential Search Committee shall be directed by Chancellor Gould and Governor Rockefeller to give priority consideration to the appointment of a woman as president of SUNY/B, who will be the first woman president of any SUNY campus. Presidency of a SUNY campus is a major job classification.

7. A University-wide, specific, step-by-step program shall be formulated under which women in administration and staff can be assured of the opportunity to advance to the top positions in their departments and divisions. This program shall include an acceptable timetable.

8. A minimum of the next 5 of 10 appointments to administrative posts shall go to women, either from outside the University or from present staff or faculty. This will constitute the first step in a program of the rapid appointment of women to all levels of the administration from president, vice president, and on down, to effect adequate representation of women among the faculty, staff, and students. In the case of women appointed from staff to administrative posts, we recommend a contractual basis on the grounds that no one who is without job security will be able to take chances.

9. All departments shall be required to abolish restrictive "no-inbred-hiring" policies as discriminatory to women.

10. All departments shall provide part-time opportunities for women (and their husbands) as called for under the proposed OFCC Guidelines (Sec. 60-20.2a).

One Final Plea: Freeing the Oppressed

Frees the Oppressor

I have described the costs of discrimination to women themselves, but I wish to make my final point by urging that the hidden cost to men is equally high; being favored puts men in the position of profiting at the expense of women. No profit could ever justify such a cost; no one is equal until everyone is equal.

Men, too, are the prisoners of their cultural status, forced to maintain a socially determined superiority which is defined by women's inferiority. I cannot seriously believe that any man worth his salt wants to be defined as a man by how much better he is than a woman. I think too much of men to believe that, and I believe and hope men think too much of themselves to allow it. For neither men nor women can ever define themselves fully as human beings until they can define themselves entirely on personal grounds and not, however obliquely, as an adjunct of their sex. To resist the logic of equality is to be deprived of its rewards.

FOOTNOTES

1. The title of this essay was suggested by the cover of **Token Learning: A Study of Women's Higher Education in America**, Education Committee of the National Organization for Women, (Kate Millett, Chairman), 1968.
2. P. Moebius, **Concerning the Physiological Intellectual Feebleness of Women**, Halle, 1907.
3. For a convenient set of graphs on women's declining employment status, consult "Rebelling Women," **U.S. News and World Report**, April 13, 1970 (LXVIII—No. 15) 35-37; for women's declining educational status, **Trends in Educational Attainment of Women**, U.S. Department of Labor Women's Bureau, October 1969.
4. John Stuart Mill, **On the Subjection of Women**, 1869; Gunnar Myrdal, "A Parallel to the Negro Problem," Appendix 5 in **An American Dilemma**, 1941, 1944, Vol. II, pp. 1073-78; Caroline Bird, **Born Female: The High Cost of Keeping Women Down**, Pocket Books, 1969, p. 110.
5. **Token Learning.**
6. **Women's Place: Options and Limits in Professional Careers**, University of California Press, 1970, p. 55.
7. Jessie Bernard, **Academic Women**, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1967, pp. 84 and 148-52. Dr. Bernard summarizes the Budner-Meyer study thus: "As a result of such discrimination, . . . academic women have less incentive to be productive and less stimulation to become professionally involved."
8. **Psychology Today**, October, 1969, 36, 38, 62.
9. Although on the basis of our returns, we list a tota. of 623 full and associate professors, we list only 553 as having tenure. The discrepancy is partly accounted for by the fact that we do not have tenure figures for the 68 faculty of the Dental School, 34 of whom are full or associate professors, nor do we make a special category of visiting professors.
10. Caroline Bird, in **Born Female**, refers to such a study by Jessie Bernard, p. 168.
11. Bruno Bettelheim, quoted by Naomi Weisstein in "Woman as Nigger," **Psychology Today**, December, 1969, p. 20.